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438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

● 105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

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tural streams first from the west and later from the east, which moulded the culture of eastern Fiji. Finally Kambara's lack of fertile land and lack of outside contact limited this culture to simple, analytical form.

The historic division of Lauan society is clear on Kambara and practically nowhere else in the group. Here is found the answer to Hocart's "dual organization" problem. He states (15, p. 232), "The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached." What appeared on Lakemba as a dual organization is really the opposition of the chief group to the land group on the basis of rank. This two-fold historic *yavusa* division, however, is found only on islands like Lakemba, Mothe, and Kambara where there is a chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*). On islands like Fulanga and Ongea, where the population is composed of the lower class (*yavusa vanua*), it is absent. Moreover, there are at least five historic *yavusa* groups, not just two, in Lau. The only groups which tend to divide into two parts are clans, in that a clan which has grown large frequently splits into two. Clans are frequently composed of two or three subclans and a subclan is usually composed of several households.

According to the available evidence the land people (*kai vanua*) or lower class in Lau are descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the eastern archipelago. They had a simple social organization. The basic social unit was a unilateral kinship and local group called *tokatoka*. Political power was in the hands of the old men and there was little interest in social prestige or pedigrees. The early inhabitants subsisted mainly on jungle produce, fishing and perhaps a little gardening on the volcanic islands and they had a simple technology. They believed in local spirits worshipped with offerings at sacred places called *na sava* (for instance, caves). They had first fruits' ceremonies and probably boys' initiation ceremonies and their rites centered around their religious life. They believed in their local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal and in a local abode of the soul after death. They had no migration tales.

The culture of the aborigines of Lau as described above is Melanesian in type. It is similar to the culture of the low Fijians of western Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Moreover, descendants of the early inhabitants found in greatest numbers on the island of Fulanga tend to be shorter, darker skinned, coarser featured, frizzier haired than the descendants of the immigrants who now form the nobility in Lau. The aborigines were apparently Melanesian in physical type and not Polynesian as assumed by Hocart (15, p. 230). The facts suggest that a Melanesian culture and race similar to that of the low Fijians and the early land people of Lau were once widespread in the Fiji group.

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● 105 About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies and tradition, a group of immigrants from Viti Levu under the leadership of the war hero, Ndaunisai, introduced a highly organized culture into southern Lau. According to the natives they brought "light" (*rarama*) to the "darkness" (*mbuto-mbuto*) of the aborigines. Upon the basic social unit of the early inhabitants they imposed a complicated system of rank by which every clan stood in definite relationship to every other clan. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence clan genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary clan titles depending on a historical division of clans. Clans which descended from the immigrants (who married women of the early inhabitants and acquired land thereby) formed the chiefs' phratry or nobility (*yavusa turanga*). Clans which descended from the early inhabitants formed the land phratry or lower class (*yavusa vanua*). The highest rank was held by the high chief, who was directly descended in the first-born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai.

The ranking system was reflected in a hierarchy of clan ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). At the top stood Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai. The clan ancestor gods were propitiated by hereditary priests (*mbete*) in small god houses (*mbure kalou*). However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestor ghosts as clan deities, the descendants of the aborigines retained their local gods with their local units. The purpose of worship was to obtain mana expressed in the form of social prestige, which became the highest social value. Emphasis was placed on the divinity of the chief, as representative of the most powerful ancestor god on earth, and ceremonial life tended to become secularized and to concentrate around him.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening continued to be the basis for subsistence, production was organized and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists to their courts and extracting heavy tribute from their subjects. The most important specialists were the hereditary carpenters. This group, called the *matai sau* (chiefs' carpenters), claimed descent from the *matai sau* immigrants, who, according to tradition, reached Lau from Viti Levu before the war hero, Ndaunisai. They formed the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai sau*), a small group which ranked relatively high. Later, under Tongan influence, they were superseded by Matai Lemaki, a Samoan, who became the high chief's carpenter, and by his descendants who formed a small group called the *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai lemaki*).

Rivalry between social groups led to strife. Fortifications were built on every island, but gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger, richer islands like Lakemba and Kambara. There arose small chief-

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Kambara

doms, within which the weaker islands stood in tributary relationship to the stronger. Finally Lakemba became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.

The culture brought to Lau by the immigrants from Viti Levu is Polynesian in type and similar to that of the high Fijians of eastern Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Furthermore, the immigrants, as evidenced by their descendants, the nobles of Lau, were Polynesian in racial type. From the evidence at hand, therefore, we may definitely assume that the immigrants from Viti Levu were early high Fijians and that the migration into Lau was part of the movement, recorded in the genealogies and traditions of Viti Levu, by which the high Fijians spread their culture and racial strain over eastern Viti Levu, the islands of the Koro Sea, and a large part of Vanua Levu.

The culture complex brought by the early high Fijians into Lau is of general Polynesian type and cannot be classed as western Polynesian as defined by Burrows (3). The facts lead to the inference that the ancestors of the high Fijians were an offshoot of an early Polynesian migration which passed through western Polynesia into central and eastern Polynesia before the development of the distinctly western Polynesian type of culture found in Samoa, Tonga, and adjacent islands.

Polynesian influence from the west began in Lau with Tongan contact in the late prehistoric period and reached its height in the middle of the nineteenth century. Tongan influence is found especially in Lauan social life and technology but its effect was weakened by the penetration of western civilization into the group. The Tongans introduced the western Polynesian concept of divine chieftainship and rank expressed in social ceremonial and in new forms of court etiquette, of kava drinking, and of dancing. Their outstanding contributions to material culture were the western Polynesian oval house type with parallel purlins and technique of pasting tapa into long sheets and decorating them by means of rubbing on designs raised on tablets. Tongan influence is responsible for most of the western Polynesian traits in Lauan culture and also to a great extent for [illegible] that the Lauans are more Polynesian in racial type than the high Fijians of Fiji proper.

In short, Lauan culture situated at the meeting point of the Melanesian and the Polynesian culture areas is truly marginal. It contains a unique fusion of Melanesian, early Polynesian, and western Polynesian complexes. Partly through historical accident, partly through natural environment, it has been possible to obtain a time prospective on the merging process in Lau. This prospective not only illuminates the Lauan culture itself, but throws light on the culture of the whole Fijian group and contributes toward the understanding of the culture history of Oceania.